Existential Constructions and the Proper Binding Condition
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(1)   John is likely to win
(2)   How likely to win is John

(3)   There is likely to be a riot
(4)   *How likely to be a riot is there   Lasnik and Saito
      (1992), following Kroch and Joshi (1985)

(5)   John is likely [t̲ to win]
(6)   John is likely [PRO to win]
(7)   [How likely [t̲ to win]] is John   ((Out by Proper
      Binding Condition Fiengo (1977)))
(8)   [How likely [PRO to win]] is John

(9)   There is likely [t̲ to be a riot]
(10) *There is likely [PRO to be a riot]   ((PRO must be
      controlled by an argument Chomsky (1981), Safir (1985)))
(11) *[How likely [t̲ to be a riot]] is there   [out by Proper
      Binding Condition]

(12) A problem with this account: It posits a structural
      ambiguity for (1) but there is no obvious corresponding
      semantic ambiguity. Huang (1993), Abels (In press)
      Further, the status of the PBC is now uncertain
      (especially given the numerous arguments for 'remnant
      movement').

(13) *How likely to be a man outside is there
(14)   "a man" must replace "there" in LF (as in Chomsky
      (1986), but this movement is illicit here, being
      sidewards. Barss (1986)

(15) Expletive replacement per se cannot be correct, as shown
      by den Dikken (1995), Lasnik and Saito (1991), Lasnik
      (1995):

(16)a   Many linguistics students aren't here
    b   There aren't many linguistics students here

(17)a   Some linguists seem to each other [t̲ to have been
           given good job offers]
    b *There seem to each other [t̲ to have been some
           linguists given good job offers]

(18)a   No good linguistic theories seem to any philosophers
           [t̲ to have been formulated]
    b *There seem to any philosophers [t̲ to have been no good
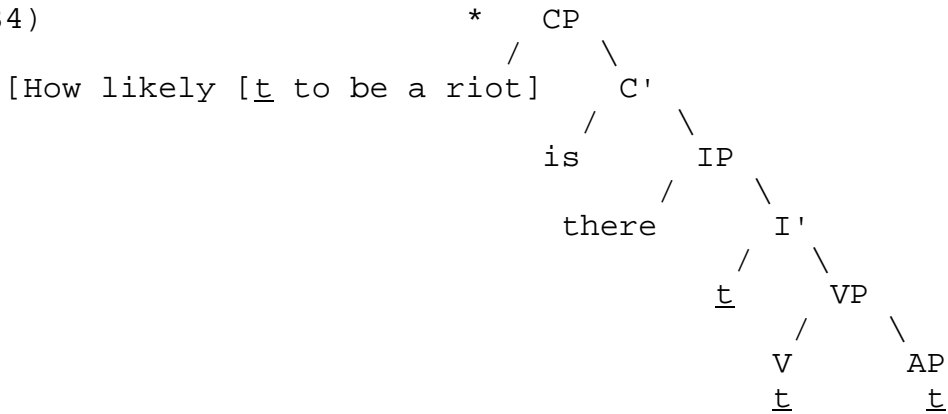   linguistic theories formulated]

(19)a   Some defendant$_i$ seems to his$_i$ lawyer [t to have been at
              the scene]
      b *There seems to his$_i$ lawyer [t to have been some
              defendant$_i$ at the scene]

(20)   "The operation Move...seeks to raise just F."   Chomsky
           (1995)
(21) When movement is covert, hence only of formal features,
       the referential and quantificational properties needed to
       create new binding and scope configurations are left
       behind, so no such new configurations are created.
       Lasnik (1995), slightly modifying Chomsky (1995)

(22)   The essence of Barss's account can be maintained under
       the feature movement analysis.

(23) Suppose following Davis (1984) (and many others since)
       that <u>there</u> has no agreement features of its own but that
       Infl must check its agreement features against something.
       If checking in the Spec-head configuration fails, then
       feature movement from the 'associate' of <u>there</u> can
       satisfy the requirement.

(24)   There is [(very) likely [to be [a man outside]]]
            [F]   [F]
           ↑_____|

(25) *[How likely [t to be a man outside]][$_{\bar{C}}$ is [$_{IP}$ there ...]]
                      [F]   [F]
                       |_____*_____↑

(26)   If movement must be to a c-commanding position, the
       necessary contrast obtains.

(27)   One other derivation must be prevented though. Suppose
       feature movement takes place **before** wh-movement:

(28) There is [how likely [to be [a man outside]]]
          [F]   [F]
         ↑_____|

(29)   The movement here is correctly upwards. Then wh-
       movement can take place. True, it will seemingly violate
       the PBC, but on this approach, the PBC is an artifact.
       The true constraint is that movement is upwards; and in
       this derivation all movement **is** upwards.
(30)   We must then force feature movement to come later, at
       least in the relevant derivations. This could simply be
       stipulated.
(31)   Or, better, we could follow the proposal of Ochi (1999),
       extending ideas of Chomsky (1995) hinted at above, that
       feature movement leaves behind a phonetically defective
       item. Movement is free to take place overtly or

covertly, but typically when it is overt, the derivation
will 'crash' at PF.

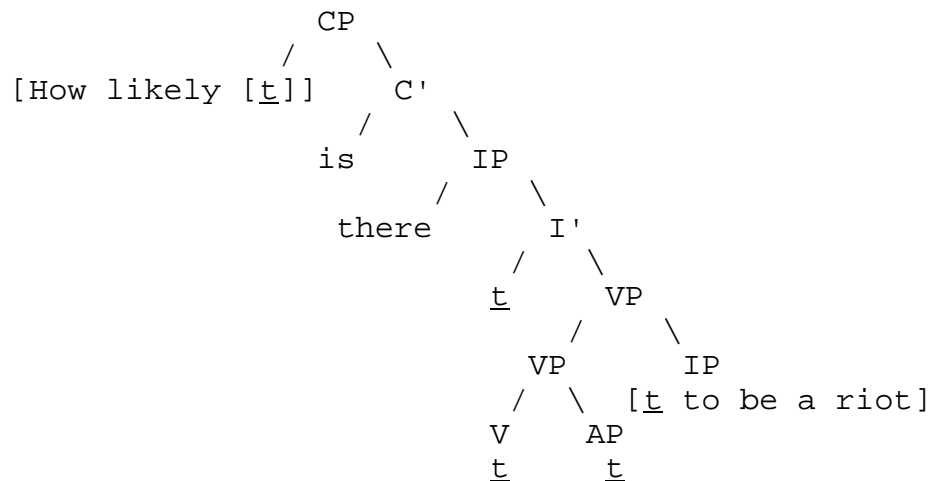(32) *How likely to be a riot is there
(33) How likely is there to be a riot

(34)
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                               *   CP
                                  /   \
   [How likely [t to be a riot]    C'
                                   /   \
                                 is     IP
                                       /   \
                                   there     I'
                                            /   \
                                          t       VP
                                                 /   \
                                               V       AP
                                               t       t
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(35) Under the assumption that the correct underlying
      constituent structure is [how likely [there to be a
      riot]] (33) involves extraposition.

(36)
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                               CP
                              /     \
              [How likely [t]]     C'
                                  /   \
                                is     IP
                                      /     \
                                  there       I'
                                             /   \
                                           t       VP
                                                  /   \
                                                VP       IP
                                               /  \  [t to be a riot]
                                              V     AP
                                              t      t
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(37) While both (34) and (36) are in violation of the PBC, in
      the latter (but not the former) the required covert
      feature movement from a man to Infl is upwards.

(38) Outside is a man
(39)??Outside is likely to be a man
(40) *How likely to be a man is outside
(41) *[How likely [to be a man]] is outside

(42) But (40) displays Subject-Aux Inversion (SAI), a process
      long known to be incompatible with Locative Inversion:
(43) *Is outside a man

(44) *I wonder how likely to be a man outside is
(45) *I wonder [[how likely [to be a man]] outside is]]

(46) If a locative phrase has no agreement features, we can
      use the same account as for (4).

(47) BUT the analogue of (33) is still bad, even when we
      control for the impossibility of SAI:

(48)a *How likely is outside to be a man
     b *I wonder how likely outside is to be a man

(49) These facts indicate that the fronted locative, unlike
      the pleonastic <u>there</u>, is not in subject position. The
      facts are consistent with an account like that of Bresnan
      (1994) where the locative is actually a subject, but one
      that is necessarily topicalized.

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